

## Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7949

INFO AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMCONSUL LUANDA

AMCONSUL LOURENCO MARQUES

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRASILIA 1544

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, BR, AO, MZ

SUBJECT: COORDINATION OF US/GOB ASSISTANCE ANGOLA AND  
MOZAMBIQUE

SUMMARY: CHIEF OF FOREIGN MINISTRY'S AFRICA DEPARTMENT  
TOLD ARENALES FEBRUARY 25 THAT BRAZIL HAD NO PLANS FOR  
ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE IN SHORT TERM AND INTENDED TO  
CONCENTRATE ASSISTANCE EFFORT IN ANGOLA. HE DID NOT  
RESPOND TO ARENALES' OFFER TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY  
OF COORDINATING US/GOB AID PROGRAMS IN MOZAMBIQUE, NOR  
DID HE VOLUNTEER ANY INTEREST IN COORDINATING ASSISTANCE  
TO ANGOLA. IN EARLIER CONVERSATION WITH ARENALES, HOWEVER,  
ADERBAL COSTA OF SUBIN SHOWED STRONG INTEREST IN  
COORDINATING MOZAMBIQUE AID. END SUMMARY.

1. DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AFS ARENALES, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM  
AND EMBOFF, CALLED FEB. 25 ON ITALO ZAPPA, CHIEF OF  
FOREIGN MINISTRY'S DEPARTMENT OF AFRICAN AND ASIAN  
AFFAIRS. IN RESPONSE TO ARENALES' MENTION OF UPCOMING  
VISIT OF US AID SURVEY TEAM TO MOZAMBIQUE AND US  
INTEREST IN EXAMINING POSSIBILITY OF COORDINATING  
ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TNERE WITH GOB, ZAPPA COMMENTED  
THAT BRAZIL WOULD APPROACH QUESTION OF AID TO MOZAM-  
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BIQUE "WITHOUT CELERITY". IN CONTRAST TO ATMOSPHERE

IN WHICH BRAZILIAN APPROACHES HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA (WHICH ZAPPA DESCRIBED AS "MORE PERMEABLE"), ZAPPA BELIEVED THAT ATTITUDE OF PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE TOWARD BRAZIL WAS LESS THAN RECEPTIVE. HE ASCRIBED THIS TO RESENTMENT IN FRELIMO TO BRAZIL'S HISTORY OF SUPPORT IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS FOR PORTUGAL ON THE QUESTION OF THE AFRICAN TERRITORIES, A RESENTMENT MORE DEEPLY FELT, HE BELIEVED, BECAUSE COMMON TIES OF LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND TRADITION LED FRELIMO TO EXPECT MORE SUPPORT FROM BRAZIL THAN FROM OTHER NATIONS DURING THE PERIOD OF REBELLION. BRAZILIAN INTERESTS IN MOZAMBIQUE WOULD BE BEST SERVED, ZAPPA CONTINUED, BY ALLOWING THIS RESENTMENT TO COOL BEFORE UNDERTAKING ANY AID ACTIVITIES THERE. WHILE BRAZIL REMAINED INTERESTED IN EVENTUALLY PROVIDING SOME FORM OF AID TO MOZAMBIQUE, THERE WERE NO PLANS FOR THIS IN THE SHORT TERM.

2. WHILE UNABLE ENTIRELY TO ACCOUNT FOR THIS DIFFERENCE, ZAPPA WAS CONVINCED THAT THE ATTITUDE OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA TOWARD BRAZIL OFFERED CONSIDERABLY GREATER SCOPE FOR BRAZILIAN INITIATIVES. IN ADDITION, HE BELIEVED, PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA WAS PROBABLY MORE SOLIDLY BASED THAN THAT OF MOZAMBIQUE. HE SUSPECTED THAT A FRELIMO GOVERNMENT, DESPITE CURRENT APPEARANCES OF UNITY, MIGHT SHOW SIGNS OF SERIOUS WEAKNESS AFTER INDEPENDENCE, WHILE THE TRIPARTITE COLLEGIUM IN ANGOLA MIGHT SETTLE INTO A WORKABLE ADMINISTRATION. (HE REFERRED TO HOLDEN ROBERTO AS "LAZY", EXPRESSED ADMIRATION FOR AGOSTINHO NETO AS "A MAN OF CONSIDERABLE CAPABILITIES", AND SPOKE OF JONAS SAVIMBI ONLY IN PASSING.) FOR THESE REASONS, ZAPPA CONTINUED, BRAZIL HAD DECIDED TO CONCENTRATE ITS EFFORTS ON ANGOLA, AND HOPED "VERY SOONS" TO BEGIN A SUBSTANTIAL AID PROGRAM IN ANGOLA, EVEN BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. ASKED WHETHER THAT PROGRAM WOULD INCLUDE CAPITAL ASSISTANCE, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OR CULTURAL ELEMENTS, HE REPLIED "ALL OF THOSE", BUT DECLINED TO GO INTO DETAIL. AT NO TIME DURING THE CONVERSATION DID ZAPPA RESPOND TO ARENALES' OFFER OF COORDINATION OF AID EFFORTS IN

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MOZAMBIQUE NOR DID HE VOLUNTEER ANY INTEREST IN COORDINATION OF US/GOB ASSISTANCE EFFORTS IN ANGOLA.

3. IN AN EARLIER MEETING WITH ADERBAL COSTA, SECRETARY GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION (SUBIN) OF THE PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT FOR PLANNING AND COORDINATION, COSTA, AFTER STATING THAT HE HAD HAD NO POLICY GUIDANCE FROM THE

FOREIGN MINISTRY ON THE MATTER, EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN COORDINATION OF BRAZILIAN AND US AID PROGRAMS IN MOZAMBIQUE, EMPHASIZING THAT SUCH COORDINATION MUST BE INFORMAL AND HELD IN CONFIDENCE. ONE OF THE PROBLEMS BRAZIL WOULD HAVE, HE SAID, WOULD BE ADMINISTRATION. NO ONE IN THE ITAMARATY OR SECRETARIAT OF PLANNING HAS EXPERIENCE IN SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS OR DESIGN OF FOREIGN TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECTS. USG CONSELING AND COORDINATION IN THESE AREAS MIGHT BE HELPFUL. HE ALSO STATED THAT BRAZIL COULD, FOR INSTANCE, PROVIDE TRAINING IN INDUSTRIAL FRACTS TO NUMBERS OF MOZAMBIKANS BY PROVIDING TUITION AND LIVING EXPENSES, WHILE THE US, PERHAPS THROUGH A GRANT TO UNDP, COULD PROVIDE TRANSPORTATION FOR THE TRAINEES. BRAZIL COULD POSSIBLY ALSO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE-RAISING, AS WELL AS PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND EDUCATION. HE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT, IN VIEW OF REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE THAT BRAZIL HAS RECEIVED FROM ITS LATIN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, BRAZILIAN AID TO MOZAMBIQUE WOULD BE LIMITED AND WOULD EXCLUDE CAPITAL ASSISTANCE. WHEN THE FIGURE OF \$2 MILLION WAS MENTIONED TO HIM AS A POSSIBLE LEVEL OF US ASSISTANCE TO MOZAMBIQUE, COSTA OBSERVED THAT HIS THINKING WAS IN THE RANGE OF ONE-HALF MILLION DOLLARS, IN CURZEIROS. COSTA WAS GREATLY INTERESTED IN RECEIVING A SUMMARY OF THE PROJECT RECOMMENDATIONS DEVELOPED BY THE US AID TEAM AS A RESULT OF THE MOZAMBIQUE VISIT.

4. COMMENT: ZAPPA'S VOLUBILITY IN THIS MEETING CONTRASTS WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY'S RECENT RETICENCE WITH US ABOUT BRAZILIAN PLANS FOR ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE, THOUGH ZAPPA WAS STILL GUARDED ABOUT THE DETAILS OF CONFIDENTIAL

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BRAZILIAN PLANNING. WE BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTRY WAS SURPRISED AND DISAPPOINTED AT THE DEPTH OF FRELIMO COLDNESS TOWARD BRAZIL (ZAPPA, IN DESCRIBING HIS OWN CONVERSATION WITH SAMORA MACHEL, SAID, "IT WAS--NOT SHARP--BUT FRANK.") BRAZILIAN GOEPPLITICIANS, WHO SEE ANGOLA AS BRAZIL'S "EASTERN FRONTIER", HAVE TRADITIONALLY FOCUSED ON THAT COLONY, AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY HAS OFTEN DESCRIBED ANGOLA AS BRAZIL'S POTENTIAL "FOOTHOLD IN AFRICA". THESE FACTORS WERE PROBABLY PERSUASIVE IN TERMS OF CONCENTRATION OF AID EFFORTS IN ANGOLA. EVEN THOUGH ZAPPA GAVE NO INDICATION OF ANY BRAZILIAN INTEREST IN COORDINATING AID PLANNING WITH THE US, COSTA'S INTEREST IN OUR EVALUATION OF MOZAMBIQUE'S NEEDS MAY OFFER AN OPPORTUNITY FOR A FURTHER APPROACH ON THE MATTER.

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